3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 157 wrong, they trembled in his presence. Nevertheless, the benevolence of his heart was wonderfully expressed in his manners: while he was 634 157 yet on board the ship, Captain Fisk desired Mr. Mariner to tell him that it would be bad 648 policy for him ever to attempt taking a ship, as it would prevent other ships coming to trade with them, or, if they came at all, it might be to punish him and his people for their treachery: as soon as Finow understood what the captain said, he made a step forward to Mr. Mariner, and taking his hand, pressed it cordially between his*, saying with tears in his eyes, and a most benevolent and grateful expression of feature, "Tell the chief that I shall al-"ways consider the Papalangies as my relations, "—as my dearest brothers; and rather would I "lose my life than take any thing from them "by force or treachery." He had scarcely finished speaking when the captain exclaimed, "I see, I see what he means,—you need not "translate me that!"

634 153 Finow's intellect was also very extraordinary, that is to say, it was naturally very strong, and was very little obscured by prejudices; we have seen several instances of the wisdom of his con-

[576 177 829] *He had learnt the action of taking the hand from the Englishmen there, and used to say it was the most friendly and most expressive way of denoting one's feeling of sincerity.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

duct, and a few anecdotes will serve to shew that his specific reasoning faculty was very far above the common. He had learnt the mechanism of a gun-lock by his own pure investigation: one day, on taking off the lock of a pistol to clean it, he was astonished to find it somewhat differently contrived, and a little more complicate than the common lock, which he had thought so clever and perfect that he could not conceive any thing better: on seeing this, however, he was somewhat puzzled, at first with the mechanism, and afterwards with its superiority to the common lock, but he would not have it explained to him; it was an interesting puzzle, which he wished to have the pleasure of solving himself: at length he succeeded, and was as pleased as if he had found a treasure; and in the afternoon at cava, he was not contented till he had made all his chiefs and matabooles understand it also. He did not know the existence of the pulse till Mr. Mariner informed him of it, and made him feel his own, at which he was greatly surprised, and wanted to know how the Papalangies first found it out: he was informed at the same time, that the pulse was influenced by various diseases and passions of the mind; and that in most parts of the world, those whose profession it was to cure diseases often judged of the state of the complaint by the pulse: upon

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

which he went about to two or three that were ill to feel their pulses, and was much delighted with the new discovery. A few days afterwards one of his servants very much offended him by some unwarrantable act, upon which he became violently angry, but on a sudden the thought struck him of the association between the passions and the pulse, and immediately applying his hand to his wrist, he found it beating violently, upon which, turning to Mr. Mariner, he said, you are quite right; and it put him in such good humour, that the servant got off with a mild remonstrance, which astonished the fellow very much, as he did not understand the cause, and was sitting trembling from head to foot, in full expectation of a beating.

Mr. Mariner explained to him the form and general laws of the solar system; the magnificent idea of the revolutions of the planets, the diurnal revolution of the earth, its rotundity, the doctrine of gravity, the antipodes, the cause of the changes of the seasons, the borrowed light of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tides, &c.—These were his frequent themes of discourse, and objects of his fine understanding;—they pleased him, astonished him, and filled him with intense desire to know more than Mariner was able to communicate. He lamented the ignorance of the Tonga people; he was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's central situation and the consequent revolution of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his understanding. What he seemed least to comprehend was how it happened that the antipodes did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes!— He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, the latter observed that the top of the stone was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

not only always wet, but so replete with water that it was constantly flying off in abundance on the application of the axe; this on a sudden thought puzzled him; it seemed to him strange that the superabundance of water should not run off before it got to the top: Mr. Mariner began his explanation, thus, "In consequence of the quick successive revolutions of the stone" —when on a sudden Finow eagerly exclaimed (as if a new light had shot across his mind) "Now I understand why the antipodes do not "fall off the earth,—it is in consequence of the "earth's quick revolution!"—This was a false explanation, and he himself soon saw that it was, much to his disappointment; but it shews the activity of his mind, and how eager it was to seize every idea with avidity that seemed to cast a radiance upon the object of his research.

On another occasion they were returning to Vavaoo from the Hapai islands, where the king had been to fetch some of his property, consisting chiefly of things which originally belonged to the officers of the Port au Prince: among others there was a box containing sundry small articles and a pocket compass; the latter he did not know the use of, and had scarcely yet examined. During the whole day it was nearly calm, and the paddles were for the most part used: a breeze, however, sprang up after dark,

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

The vigil is kept by the hillock of Pau,
Hunga kept the vigil, kept it Nuapapu,
They kept thy vigil in Fakapenau,
Thy vigil went out through the headlands,
In Otea and Motuahala 'twas kept,
Thy vigil was kept in Hikupapa,
'Twas kept by Taunga and the isles of Mala,
Thy vigil was kept in Nukumahanga,
Tauta watched, watched also Kapa,
Thy vigil was kept in Lautala,
Ofu watched, watched Mafana,
Koloa watched, watched Niuhaka,[8]
Thy vigil went through to Matoto,
Vaolongolongo tended vigil fires,
And Mahinahopo tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Apivao,
Thy vigil went through to the east
Potuitoume tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Faheke,
Vaimasiniake tended vigil fires,
And the steeps of Nove tended vigil fires.

Ulamoleka's Poem on the Death of Veainu

A marvellous feat of memory is associated with this piece. Veainu was the father of Falepapalangi, the bard, the friend of Ulamoleka, sailor and poet. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were in Eua when the news of Veainu's death was brought from Tongatabu. Falepapalangi at once returned to Tongatabu, but Ulamoleka stayed on in Eua. After a time he too returned to Tongatabu, and went to pay the customary ceremonial visit of condolence to his friend Falepapalangi. The visitor on these occasions always brings gifts such as mats, cloth, kava, food. The recipient formally thanks the giver for each of his gifts. Ulamoleka, however, brought nothing to Falepapalangi except a small piece of native cloth, which he spread on the ground before him, and then he recited this poem, which was the real gift to Falepapalangi. Falepapalangi thanked his friend for the cloth, and then said "Thanks for the —" and starting at the first line he went right through the piece, which he had just heard for the first time.

Some details are not clear, but the general trend is plain. The text was badly written in pencil. Comparison with another copy, had it been available, might have cleared up some points. I have changed the order of a very few lines. After the opening, recounting the receiving of the sad news, the bard goes on to picture the collecting of mats, as a gift to the family in honor of the dead man. Having finished collecting mats in Tonga he imagines a voyage to Samoa, to get other mats, and the collecting of presents from Fiji. But after all mats and cloth are but perishable, and he will give another form of wealth, poetry.

Riding the waves in the surf of Makaunga,[1]
Mine the second, thine the first wave,[2]
And I went turning over
To Utupakisi, the pool.
The last breaker, and I come up ashore,
And the west wind brings the report,
My body shook and started,
No marvel lightnings flash and rains pour,
The vale in flood, Ohonua wave-girt.[3]
Yea, the head timbers of the roof,[4]
Alas, the treasure of Finemua.
Thought, meseems, is barren,
And storm is at hand,
And our anchor parted,
And we are driven beyond Hunga.[5]
And at once I made my thing of nought,
Would that my doing were as a double mat,

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

his poll-tax and went to jail. In her anger at this injustice, Fa returned to the Wesleyan church.

According to Biukala, Hausia and some of his friends left the Wesleyan church and joined the Roman Catholics because they were inordinately anxious to learn to play string-band instruments and some Catholic offered to teach them if they would change churches. Others are alleged to have joined the Catholics because the Catholics in turn are alleged to pay defaulting poll- and land-taxes for them.

The reasons just given for changing churches may not be the real reasons. They are at least the sort of reasons that are considered good reasons in this culture—the sort of reason that the villager can understand because it rings true, even though he may not approve the causes or the results of such quarrelling and defection. In all cases, however, one has the definite feeling that the good-enough reason is a happening that is seized upon to justify action which is already decided upon for other grounds: in all these cases, because of fundamental personality conflict between church-member and pastor, between church-members themselves. The ego feelings of some one villager suffer frustration. He changes church affiliation from a large to a small group or from Protestant to Catholic faith because in this way he can repair his dented security-attitudes both in the welcome that awaits him in his new church (competition for members between churches and faiths is keen) and by the feeling (if he becomes Catholic) that he is acquiring knowledge and rituals which his Protestant friends do not possess. From this point of view, then, it is clear that the four churches in this small village play a dual institutional role. On the one hand, the churches provide an explanation of this world and the next, together with a code of morality. Both explanation and code serve as integrating elements in the culture. On the other hand, the fact that there are four churches means that those in the village who are unusual, abnormal, a-social, anti-social—personality deviants in other words—can find haven in one of the churches when the others do not please. Thus, changing church-affiliation provides a means of solving on a social plane interpersonal conflicts that might otherwise

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 0U9 Tonga 0U9

101 **TONGANS.—1. Introduction.—Tonga**—or at least the Tonga of this article—is the name of a group of islands in the Western Pacific, lying to the north of New Zealand, the east of New Caledonia, and the south of Fiji and Samoa. It is sometimes known as the Friendly Isles, the name given it by Captain Cook. The Tongans who inhabit this group are a tiny nation of the Polynesian race. Although few in number—about 20,000 only—their nationality is clearly marked, and they can easily be distinguished from their neighbours the Fijians and Samoans. Typical
144 Tongans are tall, large-limbed, of a light coffee
142 colour, with upright forehead and straight hair; but a little acquaintance with them shows that there has been an admixture with a race that was short and had receding foreheads. This agrees
174 with their traditions, which state that, when the Tongans came to the group, some five or six centuries ago, it was already occupied by an aboriginal race. Traces of these have been found in one of the volcanic islands, but the vestiges have not been scientifically examined. Still it is clear that the Tongans, and Polynesians generally, have emigrated from a distance; and the most probable theory is that of Fornander, that they came from the head of the Persian Gulf.

Old navigators used to speak of the Tongans as 'the most splendid savages in existence,' and they were certainly the terror of the neighbouring groups, all of which are said to have been once
829 conquered by them. They acknowledge themselves to be mentally inferior to the European;
153 but it cannot be said that they come very far behind; and occasionally students at Tubou College have achieved results that could be equalled only
192 by the best pupils in English schools. A fair measure of the size of their brains may surely be found in their language, which contains, it is
192 estimated, at least 10,000 words in use. The verbs have about 20 voices, and the pronouns are de-
193 veloped to such an amazing extent that there are more than 100 ways of saying 'our,' against two in English, 'our' and 'our own.' As the adjectives, too, have many degrees of comparison, and there are more than two articles, shades of meaning can be produced to an almost infinite extent.
000 That the Bible translates well into a language like this is not surprising; but geometrical treatises, and such works as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, can also be well rendered.

771 Physically, then, and mentally, the Tongans stand high; and it comes as a surprise that their

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

PSYCHOSIS AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

121 The dreams that I have so far mentioned are of interest because they give an indication of some of the main lines of psychic stress in a Tongan village.
153 Through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Lopdell I was able also to observe a manic-
[114] depressive patient, the onset of whose psychosis seems to be due to anxiety
158 over the welfare of an adolescent daughter. The patterning of the psychosis
771 is almost exclusively in terms of symbolism taken from Wesleyan Christianity. This again suggests the significance of religion in the everyday life of the Tongans. None thought it strange or unusual that religion should figure so prominently in the symptoms of the psychotic. The interest of this case justifies a full description. I present it therefore as I recorded it at the time.

158 *Case 10.*—Manic-depressive psychosis. There was a message awaiting the
159 doctor when we came back to dinner, asking him to go down to the jail. The jailer's wife had been screaming and yelling and fighting all night, apparently, and all day. Could he do anything for her? The doctor sent up to the hospital for some morphine and a hypodermic syringe. We both went to the jail. The jailer's wife was sitting on the floor in a small, dark, windowless cell, her husband hanging to one arm, a friend clutching the other. Every few minutes she vomited forth a flood of excited Tongan, then screeched and struggled and cursed everyone present. She was quite obviously in a manic state, and morphine brought an immediate release for her and a few hours' rest for her guardians.

Her history, as her daughter Mele gave it, is significant for the sidelight it gives on Tongan life today. The woman was always considered peculiar by her friends, in the sense that she showed little discretion—had no feeling for the Aristotelian golden mean, if you like—in the way she carried out Tongan patterns of behavior. She always went to church more frequently than her neighbors, prayed more vigorously, sang more loudly. Whenever there was a feast or a gift-giving, she wasted more food than her friends and gave away in an unseemly fashion everything her hands touched in her house. She was definitely queer, both her family and her friends were sure. Moreover, all her pride and affection were centered on her daughter Mele, a buxom, full-spirited, definitely pretty lass of about seventeen with a high reputation as a dancer and definitely attractive to the local youth. Quite recently Mele had visited Nukualofa and unofficially borrowed two "hot-cha" gramophone records to take with her as a present to some Nukualofa lad. There was some unpleasantness over the records when Mele returned to Neiafu. Most forgot about the matter, except Mele's mother and one of her local church enemies, an old hag who probably envied Mele her youth. Quite recently the mother and the hag had been quarrelling violently, the backbiting coming to a head the day before we visited the jail, when the hag, seeking to score a body blow, threatened to revive public interest in Mele's gramophone records and have Mele committed to jail as a common thief. The blow was shrewd and thoughtless, probably. But it lodged against the mother's unbalanced head. She went to bed worrying. She awoke in the middle of the night a raving maniac.

The interest of all this, I take it, is the way in which Mele's mother patterns
158 her anxiety. She is deeply religious, slightly unbalanced, devoted to her
159 daughter, and intensely worried about the daughter. The strain is too strong
771 for her mind to bear. She suffers from mania. And the maniacal ravings are all phrased in religious concepts. She calls Mele pure, unsullied, lovely, a true bride of Christ. She prays incessantly to God, urging him, nay, demanding of him that he forgive and protect her daughter from any shameful harm. She offers herself as a sacrifice to atone for Mele's possible sinfulness. Then

/29 cont./

181 European it is a particular pleasure to listen to the well-formulated
537 speech of an older--or even younger--native often delivered with
brilliant rhetoric. The ability to speak freely and with self-
[212] assurance which is characteristic of most of these islanders is im-
pressive, and it has not been lost in spite of the almost universal
knowledge of reading and writing. Through the "liberation" of the
181 commoners who were able to move up to more important positions in-
565 volving the need to make speeches ("town officer," /cited in English/
178 "district officer," /cited in English/ preacher, lay preacher, teacher,
179 host and guests at festivities), the circle of speakers has been
537 considerably enlarged resulting in having the European influence
contribute indirectly to the furthering of this rather general gift.

181 These natives were and are quite intelligent. With their
153 intellectual gifts they outdo some of the other South Sea peoples,
which is evidenced, for example, by numerous examinations in the
Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji where some of the
native intelligentsia of the British South Sea colonies is concentrated
and where Tongans were frequently able to attain first place. The
superior intelligence of this people has been shown in the past and at
present by their great interest in learning and their special ability
to take on something new. Interested in virtually everything strange
181 and new, regarding European knowledge as the key to recognition and
153 rank among their compatriots, almost all Tonga strive to absorb
185 everything that can be learned, and even on the smallest islands the
goal youngsters strive for is to be allowed, after their village
school, to attend a college on Tongatapu, whereas parents, often
through certain privations, take pride in helping their children
receive this education. (50)

[565] 50. The "liberation" of the commoners
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undoubtedly increased ambition, the thirst for knowledge, and eagerness to learn in Tonga; see also the chapter "Knowledge" p. 413 ff.

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Just as the Tongan in the past was willing to take over from the Fiji, for example, essential elements of the art of war, (51)

51. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 72/73

boat building, (52)

52. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 275.

the treatment of wounds, (53)

53. Idem., loc, cit. II. p. 242.

and the language, (54)

54. W.C. McKern, "Archaeology of Tonga" /cited in English/., B.P.B.M. Bulletin 60. Honolulu 1929. p. 122.

from the Samoans, for example, dances (55)

55. J. Martin, loc, cit, II. p. 330/331.

and songs, (56)

56. Idem., loc. cit. II. p. 333.

so he proved himself very skillful, in the course of his contact with the European culture, /30/ in learning and copying in the various areas of everyday life. (57)

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57. Often one notes a positive desire and joy in copying; for example, in April 1952 on Lifuka the author met a Tongan road worker in in the bush who had plaited hats from halved young palm leaves in the shape of European sun helmets (helemeti) and policemen's caps (tata fakapolisi).

[153]

These islanders are not only quite skillful (58)

58. That is, the majority, not all of them. Just as among other peoples there are practical and impractical types, here too there are impractical natives to be met in their own Tongan life, alongside the aston-

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ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

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59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

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60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

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177 However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
197 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to conditions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 150 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom. A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence," /cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

/278 cont./

153 157 871 generally somewhat slower than European children; yet, other things being equal, they usually outdo the natives of other Pacific islands in their achievements, and in the Tongan colleges, especially in practical subjects, they certainly achieve the standard of whites in the equivalent schools of New Zealand, even though they have the disadvantage of an environment that does not give them much *cultural* stimulation.

876 179 871 Although in schools run by churches the purpose of the early missionaries is still alive, namely, by imparting European knowledge, /279/ to provide the prerequisites for successful Christianization, nevertheless today the trend in the modern, improved educational system of the government and the churches is to give the Tongans more education and with it greater understanding, so that the natives will "do [645] everything better" and achieve a higher standard of living. This is also expressed in the plans of the Prime Minister and Minister of Education Tungi who, in the near future, would like to make accessible to his people European specialized knowledge (in agriculture, fishing and handicraft) by appointing white and yellow teachers of special subjects and by means of literature and radio.

871 876 The practical effects of the present educational system on the life of the Tongan masses seem, however, to be slight. Although their educational institutions are not too academic and try to accomodate themselves to Tongan limitations, the most suitable solution of the educational problem has apparently still not been found. White critics point out that there is still too much emphasis on teaching subjects that are, after all, useless to the natives. The schools would have to pay far more attention to agriculture if this farming population is actually to change and raise its standard of living. [179] The educational system as it now exists simply means, for the majority of Tongans, and "additional acquisition of European knowledge" and is

/325 cont./

177 totality, but rather with disconnected, single culture traits and complexes, much has remained unchanged which /326/ could probably have been altered had the Tongans had a more intimate relationship with the life style of the whites.

177 181 An inhibiting effect on the pace of "Europeanization" of this Archipelago was also the nature of the Tongans. They proved to be *self-assured, imperturbable*, even-tempered, indifferent and conservative toward many innovations--despite the fact that they were also open-minded. One cannot say that they copied Europeanism blindly; rather, they were often critical and selective. In many areas of their culture they had no interest in, or need for, a fundamental change, (55)

55. For example, means of subsistence (that is, planting, animal husbandry, basic diet), style of living, kinship and community system, customs connected with stages of life.

and, thanks to their dispostion and attitude, they did not come to depend very much on whites, but retained their practical abilities with which to master their environment. (56)

56. Planting, fishing, house-building, boat-building.

[153] Mentally they proved scarcely suitable as workers for larger European enterprises.

177 13 Unfavorable geographical conditions likewise impeded a more extensive cultural change. Fundamental, restricting factors are the relatively isolated location of these islands and their comparatively small land areas which contain no enticing riches for whites. The soil, the climate and a certain water shortage were not favorable for various cultivated plants that were introduced; some planting methods of Europeans are not feasible here, and a more extensive raising of heavy livestock seems to be impossible.

177 178 As a result of special circumstances, moreover, European